

Monsieur Colbert's

G H O S T,

O R,

FRANCE

WITHOUT

BOUNDS.

BEING

A. Particular Account by what ways
it has attain'd to that Supream Gran-
dure, and relating the Secret Intrigues
of the *French* Kings Ministers at the
Courts of most of the Princes and
States of *Europe*, with Remarks there
upon, also some Reflections on the In-
terest of those Princes.

A C O L O G N,

CHER PIERRE MARTEAU

1 6 8 4.

Monfieur Colbert's

G H O S T

O R

F R A N C E

W I T H O U T

B O U N D S

B E I N G

A Particular Account by which ways
it has arriv'd to that Supremacy Gran-
dure and glory the Secret In-
trigue of the French Kings Ministres in the
Counsels of most of the Princes and
States of Europe, with Remarks there
upon, and Reflections on the In-
terest of most Princes.

N O T O G M

C H E R P I E R R E M A R T E A U

1 6 8 4

The Epistle to the Reader.

~~much a master of Logic, as he~~
~~appears to be curious in prying~~
~~into the Secrets of the~~
~~French Parliament refusing to re-~~
~~tire the~~
THE
EPISTLE

~~opened him a large field where~~
~~to have been his Talent, and~~
TO THE

~~perhaps might have been~~
~~as he has that he~~
READER.

THe following Tract seems to
have been written by a
Hollander, and is a kind of
Compendium of many of the Ar-
tifices and Measures used by the
French Court for several years
last past, in order to the attain-
ing to that formidable Power and
Greatness it now stands possessed
of. If the Author had been as
much

The Epistle to the Reader.

*much a master of Logick, as he
appears to be Curious in prying
into the Secrets of Cabinets, the
French Parliaments refusing to ra-
tifie the Peace of the Pyrenees, li-
opened him a large field wherein
to have shewn his Talent, and
perhaps might easily have brought
to the Bay all the Pleas that have
hitherto appeared of the Most
Christian Kings Ministers. But
since he thought not fit to urge
what a maiming it was of the
Royal Prerogative in that Mini-
stry to own, the invalidity of a
Treaty, tho' Signed and Ratifi-
ed by the Prince, only for want
of the Peoples Consent, which
is, as I take it, a kind of
Lopping or rather Blasting one of
the*

The Epistle to the Reader.

be the fairest Flowers of the Crown,
I shall not trouble my self to push
on that Argument for him. Yet
though he affords us but a scant-
ling of Reason, we must own him
a man of Intelligence, and that
there are many particulars very
well worth our knowledge in these
gleaning of his after so many Wri-
ters upon the same Subject; tho'
for my part I should be loath to
stand surety for the verity of them
all. However there is a sort of
merit in making them English,
since it serves to show the happy
and prudent Conduct of our Go-
vernment, which shelters us from
those Miseries our Neighbours
groan under; this and the pro-
spect of so many private Caballs,
is

• A Message to the Reader

is what I hope will give the Reader satisfaction, which he is not in any wise to expect from the Style, which has the usual ruggedness of the North, and which being in a hurry, I had not time to smoothen and slick, tho' here and there I made a shift to purge it of the filth and ordures of a Republican Pen.

IT's no difficult matter to discover the Origine of the Mischiefs which we labour under at this day: Those who wou'd but take the pains to make reflexion upon what has occur'd within these twenty years in *Europe*, would with me, grant, that if sad Experience had but taught us to be wise, we should not now see our selves reduced to the miserable Estate we are in. For 'tis not of late only, that *France* began to infringe Treaties, which seem'd the most Sacred. Its Ambition could not Curb itself so long from appearing. But we have been either so weak, or so blind, as not to think of opposing its Designs until it was too late: Wherefore we can only impute our misfortunes to our selves, and sincerely own, that if we now undergo the punishment of our Imprudence, it is a punishment we have richly deserv'd.

And indeed to whom ought we to attribute the weakness of the *Spaniards*, than

to our selves, who have so often contributed to reduce them to the Circumstances they are in at this day? Was it not easy for us to see, that they only supported themselves by the means of the Cabals on Foot in *France*, in the time of Cardinal *Mazarine*, and that if the Prince of *Conde* had abandoned them, it had been Adieu to their Fortune, and Reputation? Yet notwithstanding we had seen they had lost the assistance of that Prince, who by the Peace of the *Pyranees*, was returned into his Duty, and that *France*, to the prejudice of so Holy, and so Authentick a Treaty, continued not only to foment the troubles of *Portugal*, but to send thither succours at several times, though we had seen, I say, that the Peace was only a Masque to its Ambition, we still suffer'd our Neighbours to be oppress'd, without saying a word, as if Policy ought not to have taught us, that 'twas time to oppose the Designs of a Nation, which will never be contented, until it has glutted its Ambition with the Conquest of the whole Earth.

Yet with how much Audaciousness, not to say Impudence, does it maintain that all its paces are conformable to the Peace? Would it not still insinuate that all that pass'd

in the business of *Portugal*, pass'd without its Order, and while it sent Men and Money thither, did it not outwardly forbid its Subjects to bear Arms in that service, to whom, on the other side it insinuated underhand the going to the assistance of that Crown, as the only place capable of acquiring them Esteem and Reputation. This notwithstanding, what did it not say to the Ambassador of *Spain*, who highly Complained of these Infractions, and who saw before his Eyes in the Metropolis of the Kingdom, the *Marquis de Beauvieu* rais'd publicly a Regiment of Horse for the service of that Crown, after having treated in appearance with the Ambassador of *Portugal*, but in effect with the Court of *France*? It would needs have, that all this Ambassador urg'd, was but effects of his Imagination, just as at this day it endeavours to insinuate into us, that it has not any design of making War, though for some months past, it has laid waste, and eat up a Country which does not belong to it, and to which it would not have any lawful Pretensions, if Reason and Justice were the Rule of its Actions.

And as then we gaz'd upon all its Attempts, and Motions, without budging in

the least, we do little more now, though we see our selves upon the point of being the unhappy Victims of its Ambition? How many in the State have found fault with sending Succours to the *Spaniards*, and if they receive any from us, are not both they and we indebted for the so doing, to the Prudence, and Sagacity of the Prince of *Orange*, who seeing farther than others; could not endure that all possible means are used for our Oppression, without doing what became, and lay in him for prevention.

For this reason it is, we see this Great Prince so much the mark of the Persecutions of *France*, that cannot esteem Virtue, but when it suits with its Interests, and has used all the little Politick Tricks imaginable, to revenge itself on his Generous Oppositions.

But to return to my Subject, I say, *France* endeavoured to cast a Mist before the Eyes of the *Spanish* Ambassador, who was far from being flurr'd upon, when an unsuspected Encounter caus'd him to do things with more heighth, and no longer to disguise his sentiments. *France* had Treated with *Mont-George*, who was kill'd in these last Wars, and was then a Captain in
Can-

Candale, being a brave Man, and loving War above all things, about Conducting Officers, and Soldiers into *Portugal*. Now *Mont-George* being Embark'd with them, in order to his getting as soon as possible into that Country, having been taken by the *Spaniards*, who had notice of his departure for that time, it was forc'd to pull off the Mask, because the *Spaniards* already spake of taking off his Head. Whereupon a Courier was dispatch'd in all hast to *Madrid*: and the Court of *Spain*, seeing he was re-demanded by *France*, durst not proceed farther in that matter, for fear of drawing upon itself the War, which it was very willing to avoid.

So great a piece of Infidelity was followed with a world of others of the like nature, without any Potentates interposing his Authority, to bring these things to be regulated according to Justice. Not but that there were Guarrands of the Peace of the *Pyranees*, but not the least aid would they give unto the *Spaniards*, whom it was endeavour'd to oppress by so many indirect ways. The *Spaniards* too, whether that they were become insensible, or as is more probable, they knew their weakness suffer'd themselves to be thus Foo'd and goodmorrow'd, if I may

use that word without shewing any Resentment, but by Complaints so little suitable with Sovereigns, unless they be followed with some effects; so as others seeing, they swallow'd all these affronts without saying ought, did not think themselves more oblig'd than they themselves to take their part.

Mean while, if their weakness appear'd in any thing, it was undoubtedly in what happen'd at *London* between Mon. *D' Estrades*, and the Baron *de Vatteville*, Ambassadors of the two Crowns. For after the Baron *de Vatteville* had got the precedence of Mon. *D' Estrades*, at an entrance made by another Ambassador, he was not only disown'd by *Spain*, but *Spain* has for ever varnish'd its Reputation, by a shameful Declaration, which I dare not repeat, nay, which I dare not so much as call to mind for fear of blushing upon its account. Yet if it be well remembred, the fault thereof ought to be attributed to other Powers who shew'd themselves so passionate for Peace, that they took not any share in the Affront that was meant upon *Spain*, which seeing itself abandoned by all the World was obliged to relax of its usual haughtiness.

The best Head-pieces then considering with what Arrogance *France* demean'd itself in that occasion, were of advice, that before it was suffer'd to gather greater Forces, endeavours should be used to oppose its Ambition ; but the voice of these wise Politicians, was only listned to by way of Conversation, and the blindness began to become so Epidemical, that they consider'd those who held such like Discourses, as People, who had more mind to create stirs, than foster Peace, which they thought so necessary to all *Europe*.

Nor did they begin to see clear, until that *France*, being no longer able to bear the yolk of Ease, resolv'd to make War in *Flanders*, under the pretext of some Pretensions as Chymical as those now on Foot : But to which, an Advocate of *Paris*, whom they had been careful to cull out from among the most expert in puzzling of Causes, undertook to give a Varnish, and some Colour. Nevertheless an honest Man would have been very much puzzled, but this Advocate had serv'd his Apprentiship at the Bar, where for two Crowns they'l undertake the worst Cause that is, thought, that being much better paid for this, he should not neglect a thing that might make

his Fortune. Thus Interest having prevail'd over Truth, there quickly appear'd a *Manifest*, by which they endeavoured to make out, that though the King had renounc'd, by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, to what he might one day pretend in the *Low-Countries*, and elsewhere, upon the account of the Queen his Wife, this Renunciation was null, because that the Parliament would never be brought to ratify the Treaty.

This *Manifest* did moreover establish, that the Queen had a Right from that time over several Provinces, and to give this *Manifest* a Title, that might suit with what it endeavoured to insinuate, it was intituled, *The Rights of the Queen*. Now you must know 'twas the King himself who hinder'd the Treaty of the *Pyrenees* from being Registered, that so it might be a pretext upon occasion to thwart against what had been sign'd by the greatest Lords of *France*, and what he himself had sign'd.

Mean while, this new litigious pretension giving occasion to all the World to make Reflexion upon the little Faith of this Prince, could not sufficiently admire, that a great Monarch, who affected wearing the Quality of most *Christian* King, did things, which would have made the very Infidels
to

to blush, whose actions some took pleasure in relating, that by the Comparison of those of both Parties, they might the more debase those of the King. And indeed they Query'd whether one was not obliged to keep ones word, and principally a word given so solemnly, sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, confirmed by a great Alliance, and in short, wherein had been us'd all that was thought most considerable, to render it the more inviolable. They Query'd, I say, whether any thing could fall---from so solemn an Oath, to which every one answer'd, that 'twas an Action that created a Terror in Men, and merited a just punishment from God.

And indeed, a Man needs not be a great Divine, to know that Christianity, and the Church, which is but one and the same thing, teaches, that we are to keep our Faith, not only with a *Christian* Father-in-Law, but even with a *Turk*. There is a fine example of this in a *French* Gentleman, of the House of *Anglure*, and which his Descendants do still Pride themselves in at this day. The particular History of that Family does make mention, that one of their Ancestors having been taken in a Battel, by *Saladin Sultan* of *Egypt*,

after a long Imprisonment, was set at liberty, upon Condition he himself should return, and bring his Ransom, which *Saladin* had fix'd at a very considerable sum; this Gentleman after being arrived at his own home, and had sold a good part of his Estate, to satisfy his Word, went back to *Saladin*, and told him, that he was come with the Ransom he had agreed upon, with him, and that if he pleased to name any Person to receive it, he would pay it him immediately down upon the nail. *Saladin* not dreaming of him, and when he had set him at liberty, never expecting to see him more, was so surpriz'd at his Generosity, that after having embrac'd him, and carels'd him to a high degree, told him he should thenceforward have more Esteem for Christians, than he had had before; that he not only remitted to him his Ransom, but also ordered his Treasurer to give him ten thousand *Frances*, which was a considerable sum at that time; that he requested his Friendship, and desir'd him that the eldest of his Family might be ever called *Saladin*, that Posterity curious of knowing why they bore so extraordinary a name among *Christians*, might know at the same time the generous Action he had perform'd.

Those

Those of that Family have been careful to remember the request of *Saladin* to their Ancestor. All the Eldest of that Family have successively after one another, taken the name of *Saladin*, so that the Count D' *Estages*, who is the Eldest of that Family, is still at this day called by that Name.

If I might be allowed to make any reflections upon this matter, it would be no hard task for me to prove that the present Age is very different from the former. Heretofore a *Christian* kept his word with a *Turk*, and now a most *Christian* King does not keep his with his Father-in-Law. At this day the Descendants of a *Christian* are called *Saladin*, because their Father promised it to a *Turk*, and now a most *Christian* King neither minds the Word, which his Predecessors gave their Subjects of the Reformed Religion, nor that he himself has given them. At this day the House of *Anglure*, which is only the Family of a Gentleman, draws all its Glory from that their Fore-father executed the promise he had given a *Turk*, and now the House of *France*, which is the most August House of *Europe*, draws all its glory from infringing an infinite number of Edicts, which it has granted to *Christians*.

But

But to return unto my Subject, the *French* King grounding himself, as I have said, upon his imaginary Pretensions, and upon the Parliaments not having ratified the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, resolv'd to break the Peace, and carry his Arms into *Flanders*. Mean while, as I cannot proceed on farther, without first giving an account of the Authority of this Parliament, for fear some should judge its Power extended as far as that of another Country; it is convenient that it be known that the least Order of Council, Cashiers all Acts of Parliament, and that its Power is now so limited, that though the matters in hand be only the interests of private Persons, the Council does often attribute to it self the taking Cognizance of 'em, and thus makes a mock of all the Parliament could Decree. Nevertheless its Authority was formerly very great, nay, and it's not long since, that it was to so high a Point, that it was look'd upon by all with Admiration, I mean the time of the Kings Minority, but that time is now so much chang'd, that a man may say, there's now no knowing the Parliament again.

And even in that time, I mean the time this *Manifest* appear'd in, the King had stript it of all its Priviledges, had banish'd all those

those Members out of it, who were suspected by him, because they stood well affectioned to the publick good, and to say all in a word, contemn'd it to that Degree, as to go to it no otherwise than in great Boots, and with a Cane in his hand. Nay, he plum'd it of its very name, as well as the name of all the other Tribunals, For to shew that none but he was Master, he caused an Edict to be issued forth, by which neither the Parliament, nor the great Council, nor the Chamber of Accounts, nor the Court of Aids ought thenceforward to be called more than the Superior Courts, whereas before they were called the Sovereign Courts: Nay, and he had publish'd another Edict too, which seem'd to me still more injurious, for whereas when there was a design of any new Subsidies, or of some other Innovation in the State, he was used to go thither in Person, to have his Edicts verifed, he had ordered the Parliament to verify them upon a meer Note under the Privy Signet, which he most commonly sent by a Foot-man: so as that this August Tribunal, which had been instituted formerly, as a Man may say, to be the Mediator between the People and the King, and to save the one from the Tyranny of the other,

other, was it self oblig'd to buckle under his will and pleasure; for there was no more talking of making Remonstrances, which those of the same Company formerly made, to stir up Kings to have compassion of their People: And if any were allowed to be made, they were only such as were stufft with Flatteries, and Diffimulation; and just as certain Fathers make their Children sometimes kiss the Rods wherewith they come to Chastise them, in like manner were the People, who are the Kings Children, or at least, who ought to be so, to thank the King by the mouth of their Magistrates, for all the Imposts he lays upon them; to satisfy the Profusions.

Nevertheless it was upon the Authority which the Parliament had in the Kingdom, that the King laid the Foundations of an approaching War, as I have already said: In effect, the King of *Spain* being dead, there straight appeared a small Tract, under the Name of the Rights of the Queen, in which it was indeavoured to be prov'd, that the Renunciation which the King had made to his Rights by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, was Null; seeing the Parliament could never be brought to verify the Treaty. That though this Renunciation were
good,

good, which, however they were far from
 granting, it could not always subsist, by
 reason of the *Dauphin*, who had not yet
 Ratified it, and yet who had the greatest
 Interest therein, as being one day to be his
 Mothers Heir ; In fine , this Treatise
 was only filled with trim words, and few
 reasons. For to begin with the first, true
 it is, the Parliament was us'd to verify what
 passed most remarkable in the Kingdom,
 but that this was absolutely essential, is
 what I deny, and which I shall endeavour
 to disprove. For Example, if a Marriage
 of a King be concluded with a Princess,
 the Parliament has nothing to do in the
 Contract, and we do not find it was suffered
 to take Cognizance of that of *Henry* the
 Fourth, with *Mary* of *Medices* ; and to
 start a matter still of later Date, of that of
 the *Dauphin* with the *Dauphiness*. And yet
 in this occasion the thing perhaps was of as
 much moment as the Renunciation which
 the King made by the Treaty of the *Py-
 rennees*. Yes, but may be one or other
 may tell me that the species is very different,
 for a Treaty of Peace is concern'd in estab-
 lishing the repose of the People, whereas a
 Treaty of Marriage only regards the estab-
 lishing the Society of two Persons. I'll
 own

own with them that their reason is specious, but easy to refute. For if it be upon the account of the Interest of the People, that the Treaties of Peace ought to be Ratified by the Parliament, why does it not also verify Treaties of War, as well as Treaties of Peace. They will needs have that a Treaty which banishes War, and brings back repose into a State, instead of Troubles, and Confusion, which reign therein, are subject to verification, and will not allow that a Treaty of War, which must banish Peace, and bring along Disorder, instead of the repose which all enjoy, should be verified by Parliament, which nevertheless was only instituted to be watchful for the Preservation of the People. Let's rather say, that this Custom of thus verifying Treaties of Peace, was only introduced, since it was Enacted that Royal Gifts should be verified in Parliaments, and that those which were not so, should be of no consideration, and this to hinder Kings, who are commonly inclined to liberality, from giving away all their Patrimony, and so compelled for want of means, to vex, and oppress the People. Let's, I say, conclude that the Parliament seeing that by some Treaties of Peace, considerable alienations had been made,

made, and principally under *John* the first, to retrieve them out of the hands of the *English*, and since, under *Francis* the first, to retrieve them out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, had attributed to itself the Authority of verifying Treaties, to hinder henceforward the Dissipation of the Crown Lands. But there's more, which is, that tho' it were a Law receiv'd in *France*, that the Parliament may find fault with those Treaties it has not verified, this ought to be understood, if the Treaties were not made in the forms, or that they were prejudicial to the Crown.

In what remains, there's no saying that *France* receives any prejudice by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, not but that this Treaty was concluded with all the usual Formalities. In regard of the Formalities, they had been so far observ'd, that this had kept the matter much longer depending, than was necessary for the repose of the People, who after so long a War, only breathed after Peace. For they thought it not sufficient that *Lienne, & Pimentel* had set their hands to the Treaty, but for the rendring it the more August to future Ages, Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, Prime Ministers of the two Crowns, would needs sign it themselves

elves too ; so as that one may say it was the most solemn, and authentick Treaty that has been of a long while. Besides that had observed therein all the Circumstances imaginable, namely, as holding the Conferences in a place, which belonged neither to *France*, nor *Spain*, which however is Note-worthy. For this shews they were willing then *Spain* should go Peer-with *France*, but since it will not be allowed, as I said just before, one may say it had been Ratified, but what rendered this Treaty free from all manner of scruple, not only by the King, but also by all *France*. In effect, the Principal among the Clergy, and Nobility, had signed the Contract of Marriage between the King, and the *Infanta*, wherein was contained the abovementioned Renunciation, so as that it was a mistake to say, that the Parliament, which can at most but represent the Orders of the Kingdom, would not approve a Treaty, which was already approved on by the King, by the Clergy, and by the Nobility.

In regard of what I said before, that the Treaty brought no prejudice to *France*, that will be also easy for me to prove. For the *France* had then much the advantage over *Spain*, yet it is nevertheless to be consid-

it w
 ty th
 s the
 stand
 Conf
 neith
 ever
 wer
 Franc
 I fa
 tified
 om a
 King
 Pri
 ha
 we
 a con
 tion
 th
 esen
 t ap
 appro
 an
 th
 tha
 th
 ove
 vide
 rec

ed, that this advantage might one day turn
 against itself, being obliged to share his
 Conquests with *England*, which was then
 in his Alliance. Now without specifying
 by retail what are the dangerous Conse-
 quences which I might draw from this sha-
 ring, it's sufficient for me to say that the in-
 terest of *France* was not to give one foot to
 the *Englishman* in *Flanders*, who was a much
 more dangerous Enemy than the *Spaniard*.
 Besides, by this Treaty, *France* made sure of
 the greatest part of its Conquest, and chan-
 ged into a certain Right, the Right of Na-
 tions, which was a Right subject to all the
 divers events of Fortune. In regard of
 what was objected, that the *Dauphin* had
 not ratified the Renunciation of the Queen,
 this is a feeble objection, and such as merits
 no answer. For tell me, I beseech you, a
 Father, and a Mother, do not they engage
 their Children, when they sign a Contract?
 And why had the Dauphin more right to
 disclaim what the King and Queen had
 signed, than those had, who live under the
 same Laws, and same Monarch?

All these considerations do suffici-
 ently shew, that all that was in the
 Treatise of the *Queens Rights*, was only to
 impose upon the common people, and par-
 ticu-

ticularly those of *Flanders*, who being once
 perswaded that the Queen had some right
 to their provinces, were capable of foment-
 ing a Rebellion, to which they had other
 provocations, through the ill treatment, they
 received from the *Spanish* Souldiery, who
 for want of pay, broke out into several vio-
 lences. Thus as it was a point of prudence
 to prevent all ill consequences of this kind
 by undeceiving them with the soonest, the
Baron d'Isola, one of the Ministers of the
 house of *Austria*, set pen to paper, and made
 a small treatise, to shew the nullity of the
 consequences, which the Author of the
 tract of the Queens Rights, pretended to
 draw. And a great number of Copys, were
 distributed both in *Flanders*, *Germany*,
 and other places of the neighbourhood. Nay
 some were transmitted into *France*, but
 the Court thinking fit, that their Nation
 should make its ambition, an Article of their
 Faith, made an exact search after the Sta-
 tioners who had distributed them, two
 or three of whom were sent to the *Bastile*,
 and were in great danger of their Life, for
 as it was not allowed in that Kingdom, to
 write truth in matter of Religion, so too
 in matter of Policy, it was not allowed to
 speak it, or hear it from any one soever.

or which reason as well those who bought
his Book, as those who vended them, were ob-
liged to skulk, as if they had done some
great crime. But the more they endeavour-
ed to constrain Peoples wills, the more they
proved to render themselves free, so as all
worthy People, not minding the prohibition
that had been made, sought to satisfy their
curiosity.

By vertue of these imaginary pretentions,
the King failed not to send to summon the
Governour of the *Low Countrys* to remit
to his hands the places he pretended
belong unto the Queen. And as he did
little doubt this Governour would not
comply with his demands, with a powerful
Army he follow'd the Person, he had sent
him, in order to the seizing them. His
Envoy bringing him back word, that the
Governour of the *Low Countrys* had or-
der from the King his Master, not to yield,
at the least, he entred *Flanders*, took *Charle-
roy, Ath, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Lisle*,
while that the Marshal, *d'Aumonts* with an-
other Army attack'd such Citys as bordered
next upon the Sea. These Conquests which
were made with great rapidity, amaz'd all the
neighbouring Potentates. They thought it
in their interest, to stop the Course of these
progresses

promised, especially the United Provinces who had no mind to so formidable, and ambitious a neighbour. Whereupon they engag'd with the King of *England*, to sign a League, wherein the King of *Sweden* entered, by which these three Powers oblig'd themselves, to cause the two Crowns to lay down Arms, if not to declare against them which would not lay them down.

This League was call'd the triple alliance and was in the issue so fatal to the *Hollanders*, as I shall shew in due place, that I ought I know, they quickly repented the having had any hand in it. A man of *Rock* is said to have been the Person, who laid the first foundations of it; after having made all those Powers sensible, how distrustful became them to be of the ambition of *France*. Be it as it will, *France* which never easily pardons those who have once offended it, knowing this man was in *Switzerland*, where he endeavour'd to insinuate the same thing into the Cantons, sent thither the two *Musels*, the eldest of whom was a Captain of Cavalry, and the other Gentleman of Horse to Mon. *Turenne*, to endeavour seizing him. The affair was ticklish, and of a strange consequence, for the *Musels* what they came to do had been discovered.

in *Switzerland*; but having had the cunning,
 to conceal their design, and to trap an their
 man, as he was passing from one City to
 another, they brought him into *France*,
 where he was broke alive upon the wheel,
 after he had endeavour'd to baulk the exe-
 cution, by an action more resolute than
 that of a *Christian*. For having found in the Dunge-
 on, where he lay a piece of glass, he made
 use of it, to cut off his privy mem-
 bers, and hid them under his straw bed, for
 to fear the Gaoler, should chance to take no-
 tice of what he had done. But not having
 been able to stanch the blood so well, but
 that their still trickled down some drops,
 the Gaoler would needs see from whence
 this proceeded; add to this, that his Colour
 did sufficiently speak him, not to be in good
 health, at length the Gaoler having per-
 ceiv'd what he had hidden under the straw
 bed, with a great quantity of blood beneath,
 he gave the Judges notice of it, and as he
 was designed for a publick spectacle, they
 hasten'd his sentence. Whereupon he was
 condemn'd to be broken, and they fearing
 he would not have strength sufficient, to go
 as far as the place where they put other
 Criminals to Death, and perhaps too, he
 would not be alive, if they deferr'd his
 Execution

Execution until the afternoon, as is the Common practise, they raised up a Scaffold before the Prison Door, and he was executed, the same instant.

The Triple Alliance, which *France* had not foreseen, did so startle that Crown, though it had promised it self, the conquest of the better part of *Flanders* it was nevertheless obliged to lay down Arms; not but that it had above a hundred thousand men on foot, but as *England* and *Holland*, armed powerfully by Sea, and that *France* had no Fleet capable of resisting such great force that Crown was afraid, that while its Arms were busied in *Flanders*, the *English*, joined with the *Hollanders*, would make a descent either into *Britany*, or in *Normandy*, and cast a terror into the very heart of the Kingdom.

France being thus brought, as it were by force, to make a peace, began to contrive, how to resent this outrage, and principally upon those who had most contributed thereunto. And as people did generally attribute, to the United Provinces, the purpose then enjoyed through all *Europe*, all the *French* resentment fell upon it. But it was very cautious of letting it appear yet while. For as *Holland* was as yet in good

Terms with *England*, and *Sweden*, a way was first to be found out to separate it from those two Powers, which were still capable of being re-united together, for the interrupting its Designs, as it only watcht for an occasion, it quickly met with a very fair one, by a Controversy which happened between *England*, and *Holland*, about Commerce; for was it then from offering its Mediation, as at other times it had done, to accomodate the difference; on the contrary it endeavour'd still more and more to irritate the King of *England*, and mean while caus'd a Treaty underhand to be propos'd with the *Hollanders*, that so they might not entertain any thoughts of making their Peace with *England*. The *Hollanders*, who had often found the assistance of *France*, when they had any variance with *England*, still expected the same kindness, and the more, for that the *French* King still amuz'd them with a Treaty. But when they thought to have come to a Conclusion with him, to oppose the King of *England*, they were strangely surprized to hear that the *French* King had joyned himself to him, and that while the *English* attack'd them by Sea, the *French* were to attack them by Land, with such

C

nume-

numerous, and such amazing Forces, that it had not of a long while been known that *France* had had the like. The United Provinces were then very much perplexed, for though they were extreme Potent in Ships, and Mony, they had no Soldiers just ready to Oppose the *French* King, whose Troops were already on their March through the Land of *Cologne*, which was the way he took to attack them.

Now to have gone about raising any in their own Country, besides a long Peace, which the Provinces had enjoyed for several years, had rendred their Subjects more capable of Commerce, than of War, there was no great feats to be hoped for from them; the new Soldiers not being over-fit to resist Disciplin'd Troops. Whereupon the *Hollanders* sent into *Germany*, to make Levies there, and to treat with some Princes, from whom they were in hopes of Succours. But all *Europe* was so startled at the prodigious Preparations of *France*, that each was willing to keep his own Troops at home, not knowing yet, but that under the Pretext of attacking *Holland*, the *French* King might invade *Germany*.

The *Hollanders* had hardly more than five and twenty thousand Men, for though they

they had distributed Commissions to all those who proffered themselves to serve them, yet as those new Troops were not on Foot, there was no reckoning upon them, until they were come to the Rendevouze. But what still more and more weakned the State, is, that *de Witt*, Pensioner of *Holland*, who had much Credit in the *Republick*, had ever excluded the Prince of *Orange* from Affairs, and as he was a better Politician than a Soldier, and yet would be meddling in all Affairs, went on very disorderly, and in great Confusion. There was still another thing which did not a little contribute to the ruine of the State, but which was then unknown, namely, that the *French King* knew all that passed in the Country, by the means of one *Mombas*, who was in the Service of the Commonwealth, that had confided in him a considerable trust in the Soldiery. A *Frenchman* he was by Nation, so that the King found it an easy matter to gain him to his Interests, by the means of *Desfroides*, Captain in the Prince of *Condes* Guards, and being his Relation, had prevailed with him to take a Journy into *France* the Winter before, where he had discoursed the Prince.

All these Reasons were capable of entirely

ruining the State, as is easy to judge, if God had not resolv'd on the contrary. Mean while, the *French* King being just ready to enter the Provinces, the States Assembled, in order to resolve upon what course they should take to provide for their Defence. The Prince of *Orange*, who, notwithstanding all the Cabals of *de Witt*, had been Elected Captain General of the State, was of advice to abandon the places above the *Rhine*, to put ten thousand Men into *Mastricht*, and go and Encamp with the rest at *Bodegrave*, whose Situation was advantageous to cover *Holland*. *Mon. d' Obdam*, and *Celidrek*, who spoke for the Nobility, were of the same advice; but the others having been of the contrary Opinion, it was resolved to preserve all those Places, which nevertheless were strangely weakned by a part of the Garrisons which were drawn out of them, to be sent to *Mastricht*.

Mean while the King, after having Encamped for some time before *Charles-Roy*, marched towards *Mastriab t*, and staid twelve or fifteen days at *Wise*, a small City in the Land of *Liege*, in which he put a Garrison. There he waited for intelligence from *Mombas*, who having given him to understand, there were few or no men in the Cities

Cities above the *Rhine*, he passed the *Meuse* at *Wise*, and after having put to flight some Troops, which were posted in an Advantageous place, he came before *Orsoy*, which was invested at the same time. The Governor did not want Courage, but as the Town was none of the strongest, and that besides, it had but a very small Garrison, it yielded up the next day. The *French* plunder'd the Town, and hanged all those of their own Nation, who were within it, and who had taken Arms against them, and among others, a man of Seventy years old, who was the Canonier of *Orsoy*. The Army marched to *Rhineberg*, and *Dossery*; the Commander of the Place delivered it up without firing one piece, for which reason the Prince of *Orange* caused his Head to be taken off in a short while after. The Governor of *Wesel* made little more resistance, though his Town was capable of maintaining a long Siege, and having delivered it up to the Prince of *Conde*, after the Trenches had been open for a day or two, he merited a punishment akin to that of *Dossery*: namely, that the Executioner passed a Sword over his head, leaving him indeed his life, but overwhelming him with Infamy. *Baric* was attack'd, and taken at the same time.

by Mon. *de Turenne*, after which the Prince of *Conde* advanced into the Country, where he took *Deudekom*, *Rees*, and *Emmerick*, with the same facility he had seized on the other Places.

These Victories though they cost not much blood, made the King of *France* pass for a *Cæsar* in his Army. For they saw that he, like him, could say, I came, I saw, I overcame. Wherefore to maintain the Reputation he began to acquire, he would pass the *Rhine*, as that Emperour had formerly done; but resolved to pass it after a much more Noble, and more Heroick manner. For that Emperour had only passed it over a Bridge, and for his part he would pass it swimming.

Two Gentlemen of the Country Neighbours of the *Tol-buys*, whose names I don't remember, went to the Prince of *Conde* at *Emmerick*, and offered to shew him a passage, where there were but a hundred Paces swimming. He received their offers with satisfaction, and so much the more, in that the *French* saw a stop to their Conquests, because the *Issel* defended the entrance of the Country, not only by reason of its depth but also upon the account of the Retrenchments that had been made on the other side and,

and which were hard to force. The Prince of Conde after having caress'd those two Gentlemen, and promis'd them great rewards, commanded the *Count de Guiche*, to go along with them, to see whether he might trust to what they told him: 'They brought the *Count de Guiche* just opposite to the *Tol-buys*, where plunging first into the Water, the *Count de Guiche*, follow'd them with his Gentlemen of the Horse, while that his Troop staid upon the shoar of the *Rhine*. The *Count de Guiche*, having seen that they had said no more than what was true, return'd to give an account to the Prince of Conde, and that prince sent the King Word of what pass'd, and that if he would be of the party, he might fall upon the Rear of the Enemies, who not suspecting the least, were only careful to guard the *Iffel*. The King being excited the same time, both with glory and ambition, went to the Prince of Conde's Camp, who commanded an Army, apart from his, and after having supp'd with him, he march'd all the night towards the *Rhine*, whether he came about half an hour, or thereabouts, before day.

Mean while the Prince of Orange, who had found more fidelity, among the Com-

mon people, than in the Nobility, having
 had notice given him by the Peasants,
 that the King had some design on that side,
 he sent *Mombas* thither with Horse and Foot:
Mombas had plaid Bankrupt to his honour,
 by treating as he had done with the Enemies;
 but though this occasion was still favourable
 to him, for the continuing his wicked
 designs, yet fearing he could not carry on
 his Treason so swimmingly, in the rencoun-
 ter, but that it would run some danger of
 being suspected, he thought himself of
 writing to some Deputies of the State, who
 were about the Prince of *Orange*, that there
 was no likely hood, the *French* should think
 of passing the *Rhine*, and if they pleas'd,
 he would put himself into *Nimmeghen*,
 whither he had great reason to believe, they
 were bent upon their *March*. He took his
 time to send this Letter, when that the
 Prince of *Orange* was gone out of the Camp
 with a Detachment; and as these Deputies,
 thought him faithful, and that besides, he
 represented to them the affairs, as pressing,
 they sent him Word, to do according to
 what he had written. The Prince of *Orange*
 being returned to the Camp, was much
 surpriz'd to hear what *Mombas* had done
 and as he already suspected him of Treason'

and'

and that this last action, so very far from so undeceiving him, that it confirmed him still in his opinion, he caused him to be taken into custody.

Mean while he gave his Command to *Wurtz*, who was a *German* by Nation, and whom the Common-wealth had taken into its service, and ordered him to march in all haste to the *Tol-buys*, with some Troops, which were detach'd from the Army. *Wurtz* did what he could to retrench himself in haste, but seeing the *French* already appear'd on the other side, he lodg'd his Infantry in his Retrenchments, and caus'd his cavalry to advance along the River. The King being come on the brink of the *Rhine*, caus'd Cannon to be brought at the same time, and pointed it upon *Wurtz*. his Cavalry, who seeing trees all along the *Rhine*, put himself with his Troops among them, thinking himself thereby the better sheltered from the Cannon. Mean while in went the *French* into the *Rhine*, one after one, and many of them were drown'd, being swallow'd up in a Whirl-pool. Others seeing this, took the advantage on the left, and pass'd for all the World like Cows, which follow in the tail of one another.

Wurtz. his Cavalry saw them pass, with-

out flinching, until they perceiv'd some Troupers, who now began to come out of the Water, and form a Squadron. Then they came from under the trees, where they stood, but instead of pushing the Enemies that were return'd into the Water, they made a halt upon the brink of the River, from whence they made their discharge, which being at too great a distance, was without any effect. The little resolution which the Cavalry shewed gave courage to the *French*, who would never have dared to have stood, their shock, if they had but followed them into the Water, and not stood gazing, and suffer them to strengthen their Squadron with their Companions. *Wurtz* his Cavalry having thus quitted their ground, the *French* rallied, and waited for their Companions, who still pass'd the River, for the most part swimming, and some by Boat.

The Prince of *Conde* being thus in a Boat, with the Duke of *Anguien*, and some great Lords of the Court, he caus'd his Boat to turn back, towards the Water-side, when he perceiv'd the Duke of *Longueville* had thrown himself into the River, and ran the risque of being drowned. He took him into his Boat, and endeavouring to pass as soon as possible, he was no sooner arrived

on the other side, than that he drew up his Troops in Battel Array, in order to attack the Enemies Retrenchments. The *Hollanders* Infantry finding themselves weak in sorry Retrenchments, and had besides placed all their hopes in the Cavalry, by whom they saw themselves abandoned, thought less of making resistance, than of demanding the Quarter, which the Prince of *Conde* had offer'd them, calling out to them aloud, that they should lay down their Arms. Meanwhile the *French* still advanc'd, without one man so much as making a shot, either of their, or on the *Hollanders* side, which made the King believe, who saw all that pass'd, that he should have the victory, without its costing him one drop of blood: But the Duke of *Longueville*, having made a debauch, just before he parted from *Esmerick*, advanc'd up to the very brink of the Retrenchment, and fired his Pistol; whereupon the *Hollanders* vex'd, they had not fired sooner, and fancying they had no more hopes of quarter left, made their discharge, which being made, as it were in the very mouths of the *French*, killed a great many of the most considerable Persons among the Enemies. The Duke of *Longueville*, who had begun the noise, was killed stone dead,

dead, the Prince of *Conde* wounded, and many others, whom it would be too long to name.

The *French*, who had been startled at this Discharge, being recovered from their fright, Rallyed, and Attach'd the Retrenchments, where they found some Resistance, especially at one *Barriere*, where was an Officer, whose head was hoary with years, but whose old Age had as much Vigour as the most Resolute Youth. But being at length overwhelmed with numbers, the rest sought their safety from their heels, not thinking of asking Quarter, which then they thought was to no purpose.

The *French* having no more Enemies to fight, plundered the Castle of *Tolhuys*, and put all the Isle of *Betue* under Contribution.

This was not the only advantage they reaped from the passage of the *Rhine*; the *Hollanders*, who were then afraid the *French* should come and fall upon them behind, abandoned the *Iffel*, and retreated to *Utrecht*, where the *Populace* would have Sacrificed *Mombas* to its Resentment, whom they accused of what had newly happened. The Prince of *Orange*, who knew he deserved Death, yet was defi-

desirous he should be first questioned, and perhaps put on the Rack, for a full Discovery of his Treason, gave order he should be saved by a back Gate, and hid him in Hay, to save him from the Peoples Resentment. Mean while, the King in Person took the City of *Doesburg*, and Mon. *Turenne* those of *Nimneghen*, *Swoll*, *Deventer*, *Grave*, *Arnhem*, *Skinkenskens*, the Fort of *Crevecœur*, with a number of other Fortresses.

Thus did *Utrecht* fall into the hands of the *French*, but without their being obliged to lay siege to it. For while the King was still before *Doesbourg*, the Burgher-masters brought him the Keys, as if they had been afraid of not having a Master soon enough, The Marquis of *Rochefort*, who was in favour at Court, was sent to be Governour of that Town. But as he had not yet much experience in War, he failed of seizing *Muidem*, which was abandoned, by the taking in of which nevertheless they had made sure of *Amsterdam*. In effect, it was easy, being Master of *Muidem*, to hinder Ships from going in or out of *Amsterdam*, for they must of necessity pass by *Muidem*, which they would not have dared to have

have done, if the *French* had been Master of it. Thus *Amsterdam* had been brought to the necessity of coming to render itself up, as *Utrecht* had already done. Not but that if the King had still come and presented himself before the Gates of the City, they would have brought him the Keys; for every Individual was in that Consternation, that they only thought of saving their own Families, without otherwise troubling themselves about the interest of their Country. Nay, and without staying for the Kings sending to summon up the delivery of the Town, a Council was held in the City, whether they should not go to meet him, to desire he would be pleased to take it into his Protection, as well as all the Inhabitants, and there was a great danger of their coming to this Resolution, if two Burger-masters, whose names ought to be Consecrated to Posterity, the one of whom was called *Offe*, and the other *Hassenaer*, had not encouraged the rest to hold firm, and rather call the Sea to their succours, which had been a safer Remedy for them, tho they were brought to the utmost necessity, than to receive the *French*.

After

After the King had taken the City of *Doesburg*, he went to Encamp at *Zeist*, two Leagues from *Utrecht*, where Ambassadors from the States came to demand Peace of him. But as he was too haughty upon the success of his Arms, he proposed such disadvantageous Conditions, that the Ambassadors were obliged to return home, without coming to any Conclusion. Mean while, when they were arrived at the *Hague*, it was resolved they should go again, because that Affairs on the other side were in so lamentable an estate, that they thought themselves over-happy, in that they might receive any manner of Conditions.

Mean while there was still another difficulty, which was, that the *French King* would not come to any Conclusion, without calling thereunto the King of *England*, whose Demands were still higher, and greater.

The Ambassadors of *Holland* being returned to *Zeist*, and having met with the Ambassadors of *England*, a new Treaty of Peace was proposed, but still very difficult to conclude. For beside, that *England* did not bate the least of its first Pretensions, those of *France* were so exorbitant, that it
had

had been much better for the State to have perisht, than to have granted them *France* demanded a Medal every year, in form of Tribute, with all the Charges of the War, which it made to mount to immense Sums. *England* demanded to have several things in the *Indies*, which belonged to the Republick, yielded to it; so as I have said, the State had almost as good have abandoned all, as to have concluded so disadvantageous a Treaty. The Republick having notice of all these things by their Ambassadors, who came home again from *Zeist*, without having effected ought, resolved to break the Dikes of the Sea, which was, as I hinted before, their last recourse in the utmost necessities. But what made them the more willingly proceed to this resolution, was, that the People rejecting the Disasters of the State, upon those who had the Conduct of it, had Massacred the Pensioner of *Holland*, with his Brother; so as that they were in hopes, that as the State had Chang'd its Master, so also its Fortune would be Chang'd.

The States proceeding to that extremity, as to break their Dikes, gave them time to think of their Affairs. They sent to the Princes of *Germany* the Propositions of Peace

Peace made them by the two Kings, for the better possessing their minds in what they imagined of the Ambition of *France*. They represented to them the piteous estate they were reduced to, and that if they deferred longer affording them assistance, it would be perhaps too late, when they should be willing to do it. That the Waters indeed saved them for the present, but that they would not save them always. That the Winter being come, the *French* would pass over the Ice to attack them, and that since they had not been able to resist them, while the Provinces had been so flourishing, there was little likelihood they could do it now, being fallen so low from their ancient Reputation.

These Remonstrances, the truth whereof was undoubted, seeing the sad Estate the Republick was reduced to, affected the Emperour, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and several other Princes of the Empire. The Marquis of *Brandenburg*, as being one of the most Potent, first took the Field, to succour it; and as the King knew he had to do with a brave, determinate Prince, and besides a great Captain, he decamped from *Zeist*, and returned to *France*. But first, he thought fit to try if he could render himself

self Master of *Bois-le-duc*, which was shut
 up on one side by the Garrison of *Creve-
 coeur*, and on the other by that of *Eindhoven*.
Bois-le-duc is a place situated just in the
 midst of a Marsh, yet it is as weak in its
 out-works, as it's strong in its situation.
 Nevertheless there's a Citadel on the side,
 which looks towards *Holland*, with two
 Forts on the side of the *Mastricht* Gate; but
 all this would not be reckoned for any
 great matter, if, as I have said, its situa-
 tion did not render it almost inaccessible.
 The King establisht his Quarters at *Boussel*,
 but while he was preparing all things for
 the Siege, God, who had begun to take
Holland into his Protection, sent Rains,
 which continued for four or five days,
 without ceasing, so as the Country is low
 and level, it was immediately filled with
 water, that a body would have said they
 had opened the Sluces. The King thinking
 the fair Weather might return, staid eight
 or ten days longer at *Bokstel*, but seeing it
 did not leave off raining, he decamped,
 and returned home.

The Prince of *Orange*, who after the
 Death of the Pensionary, had all the Au-
 thority confided in him, seeing the People
 in some manner of repose by the *French*
 Kings

Kings Departure, thought of contenting them farther, by the punishment of *Mombas*, whose death they had long demanded. He had been Conducted from *Utrecht* to *Woerden*, and from *Woerden* to *Nieuwbruk*, whither the Army of *Holland* was retreated. There the Prince of *Orange* called a Council of War, and began to examine his Affair, which appeared daily worse and worse for him. In short, as his Conscience, did not leave him any repose, and that he thought himself absolutely ruined, he was contriving how to make his escape, which nevertheless was very difficult, for he was carefully Guarded, having People always with him, Sentinels at the Door, and at the Windows of his House. As he was musing after what manner he should go to Work to get away, one of his Friends got a Letter conveyed to him, by which he gave him notice that he had but three days more to live, if he found not the means to escape. That the Council of War was resolved to make him serve for an example to others, and that it was his part to take his measures thereupon. *Mombas* seeing himself menaced at this rate, spoke the same day to one of his Keepers, who promised him in consideration

tion of some Money he gave him, to let him escape out at the Window, when he should be set Sentinel at that Post, which happened on the morrow. This Affair being done, *Mombas* caused a *Spanish* Officer to be founded, who was to be upon the Guard the same day, at an inundation, to know whether he would let him escape that way, and get him a Guide ready. The Officer loving Money, as well as the Guard before-mentioned, agreed for a hundred Pistols with him, who made him this Proposition, in consideration of which, he promised to get him a Guide ready, and to let him pass when he pleased. This Bargain being thus struck, *Mombas* gave one called *Villate*, a hundred Pistols, this *Villate* having been his Gentleman of the Horse, and the Manager of this Affair; to carry 'em to the *Spaniard*, but *Villate* instead of giving them him, went away with them, whether that naturally he was inclined to pilfering, or perhaps there remained something due to him from his Master, and that he was content to pay himself with his own hands; be it as it will, as *Mombas* was still reckoning upon this Bargain, all his Care now was to deceive those that kept him in sight, to do which, he went this way to work.

First,

First, he began to complain of a great pain in his Leg, sent for a Chirurgeon, shew'd him his Leg, which by a wound he had formerly had, remained bigger than the other, and ask'd him what was to be done with it. He caus'd also a request to be made to the Prince of Orange, that he would send him one of his Chirurgeons, and these two Chirurgeons, the one as ignorant as the other, concluded a plaister should be laid on't, and accordingly sent him one to be applyed for that purpose. By this means he kept his Bed, without giving any suspicion, and the day being come he had resolved to make his escape on, he sent for *Tobacco*, and told his keepers he would come and smoak with them, after supper. But on a sudden pretending, he had no mind to it, he went again to Bed before their Eyes, and desir'd them, they would go smoke in the Antichamber, for that the *Tobacco* incommoded him. They having seen him in Bed, were far from believing he had any thought of making his escape, complied with his desires, but *Mombas*, getting immediately out of Bed, took the plaister he had upon his Leg, put it upon his face, and lept out of the Window, below which the Guard I mentioned stood Centinal. Thus

Thus did he traverse the Camp, without being known by any Body, whether by reason it was duskish and toward night, or of the plaister which disguised him. But being come to the *Spaniard*, he was strangely surprized to see that he refused to let him pass, unless he first gave him the hundred Pistols he had promised him. This dispute gave him to understand the roguery of *Vil Cate*, but it being now no time to make reflexion on it, his thoughts were wholly set, how he should come off from this affair, which nevertheless he saw but little probability of effecting. For the *Spaniard* stood flat and plain, upon his having his hundred Pistols, before he let him pass, and *Mombas* would not give him them, nor having about him, near a hundred. In short being at this pinch, he was forced to make a virtue of necessity, and having turned his pockets before the *Spaniard* he offered all he had by him: But seeing that would not content him, he told him he might do as he pleased, but that if he was the Cause of his being retaken, as it was not to be doubted, he would not fail to accuse him. That it became him to consider what he had now to do, and that he had nothing more to say to him. These Menaces

led the *Spaniard*, and making him recollect himself, he took what *Mombas* was willing to give him, and let him troop on with his Guide. *Mombas* entred into the Inundation, and went thus three Leagues, having the water up to his middle, nay, and often in danger of his life. But it was very just that a Traitor, who was the Cause of the Ruine of a whole State, should suffer in his turn, and though what he underwent, was pretty severe, yet was it not so much as he deserved.

Mombas being thus arrived at *Woerden*, with such Difficulties as are more easy to imagine, than describe, would have gone into the Boat which goes from *Woerden* to *Utrecht*; but when he was in, he perceived that a Woman, by whom he sat, knew him, and had named him to another Woman that sat by her. And as a Person that has done an ill thing, is ever under a Dread, and Apprehension, he went immediately out of the Boat, being resolved to take another way. And yet there was no other then that of the Causey, because the whole Country was overflowed, from *Woerden*, unto *Utrecht*. But being afraid that some or other might come to know him again upon the High-way, he put

himself again into the Inundation, without any other Guide, than his Despair; for the Man who had Conducted him to *Woerden*, was trooped off, thinking he had no more need of him, and besides, there was no safety in seeking out another, nor having a farthing too to pay him, he thought he had no other Course than that of returning into the Inundation.

Being come within a quarter of a League or thereabouts of *Utrecht*, out went he of the Water, but so wet, that he could not for shame go to the City in that condition. Wherefore he had his Cloaths dryed at the first House he came to, and then entering the Town, he went to lodge at the Palace Royal, where he chanced to meet with one of his Nephews, who served in the Troop of *France*, where he was a Captain of Horse. But this Nephew seeing him enter, far from believing it to be him, he took him for a Ghost, for the Night before, a man came to the same Inn from *Nicurburk*, and who had told, as a certain piece of News, and whereof he himself had been an Eye witness, that he had seen him beheaded, and this Rumor was so spread about the Town, that no body would believe that *Mombas* was arrived.

Mean while the Duke of *Luxembourg* who succeeded in the Room of the Marquels of *Rochfort* at *Utrecht*, was very much puzzled whether or no he should see *Mombas*. For on one side he would have been very glad to have got such useful hints and instructions as he was capable of giving, as being perfectly acquainted with the Country, yet he judged it not altogether Policy to give him a good Reception, for that this would manifest too openly the secret Correspondence that had been kept with him. In short being determined not to see him, he feign'd in the presence of those who told him, as a great piece of news, that *Mombas* was in the City, not to give any Credit, adding, that sure he would not be so Impudent, after having borne Arms against the King, to come again and put himself into his hands. They all knowing what the meaning of this was, their tongues were hush'd from that time forwards, and there was no more talk of *Mombas*, than if no Body had known him.

For his part, when he knew the Duke of *Luxembourg* would not see him, away

D

went

(30)
went he to the Prince of *Conde* at *Arnhem*, and as that Prince was full as Politick as the Duke of *Luxembourg*, neither would he speak to him, but in secret, and at an hour when all the world was still asleep. Whereupon he sent his Captains of the Guards to fetch him from his Inn at three a Clock in the Morning, and *Mombas* wrapt up in a great Cloak came to him in his Cabinet. There did he sell *Holland* the second time, declared the secrets of the State, at least those he had been able to know, before he had been taken into Custody; and after he had informed the Prince of *Conde* of all he was desirous to know, he retired to *Cologne*, there to stay until he had leave to return into *France*, which was another Grimace to deceive the World, thinking thereby to take away the suspicions that had been conceived of him. Whereupon some time after they let him know he might come to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, and he served for a *Guide* to that General, when he came to take *Woerden*, which the *French* had abandoned after they had had it once in Possession. He it
was

was who conducted him before that Place, when the Prince of *Orange* besieged it, so as one may say, that as much care as before he had taken to conceal his Treason, as industrious was he then to blaze it abroad.

Now tho' all I have now said may seem to be rather the History of the War, than a Continuation of my Subject, which is to show the faithlessness of *France*, yet I should think it perhaps not so foreign as some may imagine, since I therefore call again to mind, the Ideas of so many Treasons and Perfidies: and indeed tho' there's no saying that the *French* Nation wants Courage, yet one may say, that it's very willing to joyn Cunning to Strength, without which we should not see it so successful in all its enterprizes. But let's add at the same time, that what makes it still succeed the better, is that money costs it nothing to attain to its Designs. For passing at one leap from War to Peace; let's examine, I beseech you, what Courle it hath taken to separate all the Allies, and whether this Metal has not been of more use to it for that purpose, than all the *Rhetorick* of its Ministers.

One of the greatest Obstacles to the Peace, was the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the Crown of *Sweden* with the interests of the Princes who had some things to clear and determine with it. As to the Crown of *Sweden* all its Interest was; that as it had been engaged in the War upon no other account than for the service of *France*, *France* should Cause all the Places to be restored it, which had been taken from it, either by the King of *Denmark*, or the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, or the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*. And the interests of these three Powers was on the Contrary, not to hear any talk of the Peace until all their Conquests were abandoned to them, or at least the greater part. Thus the difficulty was to reconcile such opposite Interests; but see now how this affair was brought about, and which made it no longer appear so impossible, as an entertainment that was given one day at the House of one of the three Ministers of *France*, being the same who had the secret of the Court. Among other things there was a Dish of Olives, and one of the Ministers of *Sweden* having found

found them extraordinary good, the Minister of *France* promised to send him a Barrel of them, and accordingly sent him a Barrel by his Secretary. The Minister of *Sueden* very much surprized to see that the Secretary of an Embasie should be the Bearer of such a business, but making no other reflection on it at first, he took the Barrel into his own hands, and finding it extream heavy, he asked him the reason. The Secretary told him, that he'd find when he opened it, but that the Embassador of *France* desired that he would open it himself. The Minister of *Sueden* began to smell out then the meaning; and having dismissed the Secretary, he broke open the Barrel, and found it to be full of *Lewis's* of Gold, among which he found a Letter, wherein were these words, *If you expect we should often give you Olives, you must grant us the Peace.*

Perhaps now may I be asked how it comes that I should get the knowledge of a thing, which ought to have been kept very secret both by the Minister of *France* and the Minister of *Sueden*. But to that I'll answer, how do so many

things which pass in the Cabinet become Common? How come we to know of so many Enterprizes before they are put into execution? Moreover I must say, that *France* afterwards falling at variance with *Sueden*, did not much care tho' a secret was divulged which was no longer of any moment to it; nay, and on the contrary it took delight in sowing by that means a difference between the Prime Men of *Sueden*, where this business is now so much the subject of Common Discourse, that they attribute to it the rupture of the two Crowns. And indeed tho' the Homage which *France* demanded for the Duchy of *Deux-Ponts* of the King of *Sueden*, was very sensible to that Young Prince, yet wise men believe it would not have been a sufficient Cause for a Breach, if the King of *Sueden's* heart had not been ulcerated with the disadvantageous Peace which *France* had brought it to make. And it will not be improper to say here something of this matter, so much the more, in that during all the time I staid at *Paris*, I saw few *French* but did maintain that the King of *Sueden* lay under a great

great obligation to *France*, in that it would not listen to any Treaty of Peace, until all had been first restored it, that had been Conquered from it. But they know not that *Sueden* had been forced to yield up the Lands in *Pomerania* to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, Lands in the Dutchy of *Bremen* to the King of *Denmark*, and lastly Lands in the Bishoprick of *Verden*, to the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*. But since I am here upon *Sueden*, I mean to tell after what manner it was stript of the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, and under what pretext. The last Duke was still full of Life, nay and in good health, when *France*, perceiving this Country lay for its Convenience, projected, that as it had not yet bethought it self of its Right of Dependancy, under which Colour it seizes on so many Lands, to seize on this. Now you must know that the last Duke having no Children, the Dutchy fell after his Death to the House of *Sueden*, and not to the King of *Sueden* positively, because that Duke *Adolphus* pretended to exclude him, as being nearer by one Degree to him who possest it. The King of *Sueden* on the

contrary pretended that the Dutchy would one day belong to him, as being Son of the Eldest, wherein there was great probability. For tho' in many Place of *Germany* they have established that the nearest to the Dead succeeds in his Estates, yet it is to be observed that the use is contrary in the Electoral Houses, and principally in the *Palatine House*, which was the Family now in Issue. Be it as it will the *French King* having an itch to make the *Latine Proverb* good, which says that between two Persons that dispute for a Succession, there comes a third which ravishes it away from 'em both, sent Troops to seize on the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, yet under pretext of keeping it for the King of *Sueden*, in favour of whom by this means he decided to the prejudice of Duke *Adolphus*. The Duke of *Deux-Ponts* who was still alive, as I have said, was not surprized to hear that the *French Troops* entred into his Country, because he was often exposed to their violencies: but he was strangely amazed when he knew they came to gather his Succession, of him I say who was still full of Life, nay and had not yer the least

least mind to dye so soon. Mean while the Troops being entred into the place of his Residence, he not only saw all his Country under slavery, but likewise his own Person. For as they very much doubted that a Prince of so Great and of so Illustrious a Birth, would hardly be accustomed to see himself under Tutelage, and that it was feared he would call the Emperor to his Succour, they watcht him so narrowly, that one may say, he was rather in Prison than at Liberty.

Mean while *France* being very willing to make sure of the King of *Sueden*, of whom it still had need, for all this passed during the War, let him know, that all it had done, was only to oblige him: so that this Prince not being able to imagine it had any bad Intentions, spoke of sending a Governour into the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*. But while that he offered this Government sometimes to the Count of *Carlson*, his Natural Brother, in recompence, of something he had taken from him, sometimes to a Prince of the House of *Baden*, the *French* King sent

ther the Prince Palatine of *Berkenfeld*, and so set the Prince of *Baden* and Count *Carlson* a shaking of hands, they before beginning to look a little askew upon one another, as two Persons are use to do who aspire to one and the same thing.

The Peace being Concluded some time after, *France* having no mind to part so soon with so delicate a Bit, would not at first show its intentions, but still contriving a Colour to keep *Deux-Ponts*, it be- thought it self of its Right of Dependancy, and demanded of the King of *Sueden* to pay it Fealty and Homage for it. This Pretention, which was wholly new, surprized extremely the King of *Sueden*; but as this Country is far distant from his Territories, most of his Ministers already concluded that he should wink upon the matter, and not fall at variance with *France*, when *France*, which had only started this difficulty, that it might not restore what it held, caused Duke *Adolphus* to intervene that so, until they were agreed together upon the matter, it might still remain in its possession.

Thus

Thus just as it had stripped the old Duke in his Life-time, who went to dye of vexation far from his own Dominions, so does it now dispoil two Princes in the very flower and vigour of their Lives For without entring into Discussion to whom this State belongs, either to the King of *Sueden*, or to Duke *Adolphus*, it is probable to say, that if it cannot keep it for it self, it will rather give it to Prince Palatine of *Birkenfeld* than restore it to either of the two. For it would be afraid, if it fell into the hands of the King of *Sueden*, of encreasing the Power of a Prince who would not easily be won to be its friend, and it might believe the same thing of Duke *Adolphus*, whose true Interests are, ever to continue well united with the Head of his Family.

Now it must needs be no small mortification to the Palatine House, to see so great a number of its Princes become subjects in so short a time. For in fine, besides that he who shall have the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, that, if in case *France* does give it to any Body, will be obliged to pay it Fealty and Homage, how many others are there, who groan at this day

day in their Bonds. The Prince of *Perrites Pierre* can say something to this matter, if the unhappy example of one of his Relations did not perhaps oblige him to hold his Peace. I mean the Prince of *Weldens*, who by having had the Soul of a Prince, and resolving to keep himself in the Rank, which God had conferred upon him by his Birth, would now be reduced to dye of hunger, if his People had not pity of him: I say reduced to dye of hunger, and you must not imagine I exaggerate, for many People know as well as I, that upon refusing to render Fealty and Homage to *France*, he was dispossessed of his Dominions, where he now lives in a borrowed House, and upon the Alms he receives from his Subjects. They also know, to what the Prince his Son is reduced; they know, I say, that his Father not having the means to give him a Manchet away he trooped upon a little Nag, without Servants or Train, as might do the least and most inconsiderable Gentleman of *France*. They know farther that he has been too happy in putting himself into the Service of the States of *Holland*, who have given him

him a Company of Foot, which is all he has now to subsist on.

Some or other will now perhaps ask me why the Prince of *Welden*, should all alone, stickle against an absolute Power? Why does he not yeild to the time as well as others; and in fine what great difference is there between a Vassal of the Emperor, and a Vassal of the *French* King. For in short, I know that these Discourses are commonly in the mouths, not only of those who are in the interests of the Crown of *France*, but also of several Persons, who cannot behold the misfortunes of this Prince without Compassion, and without seeking a Remedy thereunto; to this I will answer, that the Prince of *Waldens* seeing himself reduced to the ultimate necessity, he has tried all sort of means of accomodation; but could not resolve upon slavery. In effect, seeing a number of Princes of his Family had shew'd him the way, he sent his Son into *France*, who offered the King on his behalf to pay him Fealty and Homage, provided he might be treated as a Prince, that is to say, possess the same Rights

Rights and Priviledges, as he enjoyed before things changed face. But the King made a mock at these Propositions, so as that his Son was forced to come back without any effect.

Mean while if a Body may here be allowed to make some Reflection upon the present state of the Princes of *Germany*, and upon what they were in a while ago, it's no difficult matter to make appear how much those are mistaken, who think there's no difference between being a Vassal of the Emperor, and the being a Vassal of the *French King*. But I am too blame to say Vassal of the Emperor. For all the Princes of the Empire, I mean Sovereign Princes, as Electors and those of certain Houses, are indeed members of the Empire, but not Vassals of the Emperor. True, they are obliged to assist the Empire under pain of forfeiting their Priviledges, nay their States, but they are not obliged to assist the Emperor, unless the Empire is attacked. Wherefore let's conclude, that the word Vassal does not relate to Princes of *Germany*, who are Sovereigns over their Tributaries,

ies, as the Emperor may be over his
 Who have Rights of Life and Death o-
 ver their Subjects, imposing on 'em bur-
 dens and Taxes according to their own
 Fancies; and in fine, are accountable for
 their actions only to God alone. Let's,
 I say, Conclude, that Princes, who have
 thus all the Badges of a Sovereign, are
 very different from the Princes of *France*,
 who bating that they are covered when
 the King gives Audience to Ambassa-
 dors, have nothing above other Subjects.
 Nay, and a man may say they are below
 some certain Subjects that there are; for
 you know the Dukes and Peers take place
 of them, and that the Princes are obliged
 not to be at any Ceremony, that they
 may not come after 'em. Mean while,
 if we would look back but to the begin-
 ning of the last Age, we should find, that
 among those Dukes there are those whose
 fathers were notaries at *Paris*, and other
 Merchants. It's well known what the
 Discendants of one of those two Houses
 have done not long since, to suppress the
 knowledge of so low and so shameful an
 Extraction. It's well known, I say, that
 they have caused an Epitaph in the
 Church

Church of *St. Innocent* to be taken away, and that instead of it you see one now in the *Celestins*, wherein there is as many Lies, as there are Truths in the other.

Nevertheless 'tis to men of this Extraction, that Princes who only reckon Sovereigns among their Ancestors, are obliged to give place at this day. But what say I, 'tis to men of much more lower and of a much more vile Extraction, whom the Princes of the Blood are compelled to make their Court to. It's well known that what makes a mans fortune now in *France*, is not to budge out of the Anti-chamber of a Minister; and a Colonel of Horse, whom I could name, and every one knows as well as I, does not disdain to be the Buffoon of one of the Secretaries of State. For which reason, he has parted with his Regiment, for fear that when he was in War, another should rob him of so noble an Employment. It's also well known that while *M. Colbert's* at Dinner, the greatest Lords study some quaint saying or other to make him laugh, and he that has had the luckiest hit that way, knocks

off

off as well satisfied with his person, as if
 he had been the man who defended *Vi-
 enna* against the *Turks*. In fine its well
 known, which nevertheless People can
 hardly comprehend, that *Monseur*, the
 Kings only Brother, is obliged to have re-
 course to them, for the obtaining any
 Boon or Favour, nay, and after he has
 had recourse too, he has not always what
 he demands. I could prove it if I would
 by a thousand examples what I dare here
 alledge, but I shall content my self with
 saying, that what happened a year or
 two ago, upon the account of a man
 who was very desirous to come into the
 Farming the Kings Customs, is a suffi-
 cient testimony. Not being able to ob-
 tain it, after having told *M. Colbert* again
 and again, he was obliged to speak to the
 King thereof.

If there was any need to enhance upon
 all this, to show in what consideration are
 the Ministers of *France*, and the fawnings
 & stoopings which the Princes are forced to
 make them with, I need only relate what
 happen'd a while ago to the Dauphin.
 He had asked of *Mr. de Seignelay*, the
 son of the late *Mr. Colbert* a Clarks place.

in a Ship, for the Son of one of the Officers of his Household, and *Mr. de Seignelay* having granted it him with some difficulty; a while after a fancy took the Minister of a new Impression, to revoke the Clark under the pretext he was incapable of his Office. The *Dauphin* being informed of this told *Mr. de Seignelay* that he should be very glad he were re-established, and that if he had failed in anything it was only out of Youth, that he would stand his surety that he should do better for the future, and that he should have no more occasion for reproach. *Mr. de Seignelay* after having listened to this Prince with that gravity he of late so impertinently affects, told him that he was not Master of the thing, but that he would speak of it to the King. Upon this the *Dauphin* not being able to endure that a man of his stamp, should receive so unworthily the honour he did him, rebuked him with such nipping words, as humbled his Pride.

Let's from hence Conclude that it's a great misfortune for a Prince to be born the Subject of the Crown of *France*, and

a great

Of great imprudence in him who is not so,
 to entertain any thoughts of yoking him-
 self in such a Servitude. Let's but ask
 the Prince *Palatine*, who is only a Neigh-
 bour, how he likes the Neighbourhood,
 and I am sure he will tell us, there is little
 difference between his Subjects and his
 Neighbour. If he pretends to speak as a
 Prince, they'll speak to him at the same
 time as Master, and if he would have
France leave her at Quiet, he must too
 submit himself to all its wills. Let's also
 ask him, whether he has now any
 faithful Subjects left him among so many
 subjects, who obey him, and whether
France has not debauch'd them all. Fi-
 nally, let's ask him if he dare so much as
 complain, tho he daily sees his Territo-
 ries so Harra's'd, and whether he be not
 on the contrary told, That he is still
 too happy in being under the Protecti-
 on of so great a King. Let's proceed
 on, I beseech you, into the Courts of
 other Princes of *Germany*, and let's
 see what passes there, before we make
 any Reflection on the Princes of *France*.
 What shall we say of the Ecclesiastical
 Electors, the one of whom sells his
 Country

Country for glittering ready Cash, through the suggestions of *French* Emis-
sarys; the other, suffers himself to be
daunted by its *Emissaries* Menaces, and
the other follows to its passions, that
one would say, the same Interest Sp-
rited them both. But let's also say at
the same time, that all this is not suffici-
ent without violence. For who doubts
of all the Tricks it has play'd, and the
Cabals it has set on foot, and are now
daily working to detach them from
their true Interests. Some are told that
most of their States are Dependencies on
the Crown, and that if they do not
make it their business to Court its fa-
vour, they will not long enjoy a thing
which does not appertain to them. Thus
while they are fleec'd of the true Character
of a Sovereign, which is of being Inde-
pendant of any body, they endeavour
to insinuate to them on the contrary, that
their Dependency on *France*, is the only
thing which can make them Reign.
Others are bid to consider the power it
has, to judge whether they have any
thing to hope but by its means, and while
they are they fed with fair hopes, their
Peop^{le}

People are encourag'd in Disobedience
 that Sovereigns may still have need of its
 succours to repress them; nay, and
 would not say, that all Wheels are thus
 a work, to appropriate the more ea-
 sily a State wherein each Plays the Ma-
 ster, while he, who has nothing to do
 with it, has already there got one Foot,
 and will set the other too, when he plea-
 ses, by reason of the Fortresses that are
 now offer'd to be demolished. Any man may
 easily guess, I now mean *Liege*, where
 France already holds *Dinant*, contrary to
 the Faith of Treaties, and where the Dis-
 cord of the People with their Sovereign,
 renders is as much the Mistress, as if this
 State belonged to it. For who is so blind,
 as not to perceive the Policy in this Oc-
 currence. As it was ever afraid that *Mr. de*
Cologn would clear up his Eyes, it thought
 to have a remedy against what may
 happen; and just as it maintained the *Mes-
 sages* in their disobedience, so it fosters
 the people of *Liege* in their enterprises.
M. de Cologn would but once make refle-
 ction that he ought to be their Sovereign.
 For in fine, if this was not its intention,
 what should now hinder *M. de Cologn* from
 reducing

reducing a Town which is open on all sides without Succours and without Garrisons. Wherefore if he would be pleased a little to consider with himself, and mind that the alliance of that Crown, has only served to procure him the hate of his People, and the entire ruine of his Country without speaking of the Armies of the Empire, which after this have been obliged not to spare him, let us see how he himself has been treated, by those in whom he places all his hopes. Who but knows the horrible Contributions which *France* has raised upon his Subjects, the Desolation of the Country, the Plunder of Towns, and to lay all in a word, the Destruction of Cities and other Edifices. Who knows not what passed at *Huy*, where not satisfied with having Tyrannized over the Inhabitants, it has moreover pulled down the Castles and destroyed one of the finest Bridges there was upon the *Menſe*, so that now that City is frustrated of its greatest Conveniency, by having received him within its Walls. But let's pass on to the other Princes of *Germany*, and see whether they have any more reason to be Contented with its Proceedings.

I might

I might abridge with one dash, what I have to say upon this Subject, if I would only relate what has lately befallen the King of *Denmark*. For as it would be difficult to judge by the treatment its Ally receives from it, the treatment which all others may expect, methinks that this should be sufficient to insinuate its violence, and how it pretends to Lord it over all the World. But as there are many who are willing to have specified what way is the *French* Court takes to bring about its Designs, I mean here to give a taste of its maxims and its enterprizes.

The whole World knows how the *Auphins* match with the *Dauphiness* was made. The consideration, the Duke of *Waravia* was in, in the Empire, not only upon the account of the largeness of his Dominions, but also from their situation, was the reason he was courted by all Parties during the last War, as being able to give a great weight to that, in favour of whom he should declare. This the *French* King was sensible of, and therefore made him daily offers of thousand advantageous Conditions if he

he would engage in his Interests. The Emperor on his side forgetting nothing that might win him, so as that the Duke of *Bavaria* judging of his Credit by the Carelles he received, resolved to hearken to both Parties, but to engage only with that, with whom he should find his so doing would turn to best account.

In regard of the Emperor, he only offered him an Offensive and Defensive League against *France*, whose Ambition he laid open to him, thinking it would be sufficient to render his Interests Common; but as the Duke of *Bavaria* expected something more advantageous, he listened the more willingly to the propositions of *France*, which they endeavoured to render to him the most agreeable that was possible. In effect they joyned to a world of Politick reasons, which might formerly be good, but which were now nothing worth now, magnificent presents which care was taken to renew from time to time. And as Princes as well as other Men do pretty often suffer themselves to be tempted with those lures, he was every day more and more disposed to make

ger

an Alliance with *France*. The Dutcheſs of *Bavaria*, for whom the *French* King had formerly ſome thoughts of Marriage, and who had been vex'd that it had not been brought about; thinking ſhe might place her Daughter on the Throne, which ſhe her ſelf had miſs'd of poſſeſſing, puſh'd the Elector of *Bavaria* on to this Alliance; but advis'd him at the ſame time, to ſecure the Eſtabliſhment of their Daughter, who could not hope for any more advantageous Match in all *Europe*.

The Miniſters of *France* quickly diſcovered what paſs'd in the Cabinet of M. de *Bavaria*; and thinking they ſhould the better inſinuate themſelves into his Favour, if without waiting, that he ſhould prevent them upon this point of Marriage, they ſhould firſt make to him. The Propoſal of it they declared to him; they had Order from the King their Maſter, to break the Matter to him; and ſaid the ſame to the Dutcheſs of *Bavaria*, which ev'ill'd her full of joy. After this, the Miniſters of the Emperor, were no longer liſtned to in any manner; and there

was no other talk then of the future Alliance, which was upon the foundation of the Treaty, which then was making between *France* and *Bavaria*; by which the Duke of *Bavaria* promis'd to remain Neuter, which was all that *France* demanded. For as the Duke of *Bavaria* was powerfully Armed, and that he had resolved to observe the Neutrality, as long as the War should last, *France* conjectured, as it was also true, that it would create an Umbrage in the Emperor; and that this Arming would almost produce the same effect, as if *M. de Bavaria* acted openly; and indeed the issue shew'd that these Conjectures were not ill grounded. But without amusing myself, with relating what were the consequences of this matter, which all the World knows as well as I, I shall say, that this Alliance having subsisted untill the Treaty of *Nimmeghen*, the Marriage of the *Dauphin* with *Mademoiselle* of *Bavaria*, was Consummated presently after; seeing principally, there was no other Princels to be Married in *Europe* nor any better Family, nor who had Nobler Quality.

Besides,

Besides, *France* thought by this means it had made sure of the House of *Bavaria*; but the Duke and Dutchess of *Bavaria* being dead a little before, and their Dominions falling into the hands of a Young, though a more sagacious Prince, if the saying so may be allowable, than were his Father and his Mother, as *France* perceived; that he was not so wedded to its interests, as they had been, sought to tie him by some new Alliance. Now as there is nothing more taking, with a Young Prince, than Beauty, especially when it is built upon, and seconded with extraordinary Merit; the Ministers of *France* so ordered the matter, that those Pentioners they had about his Person, should often Discourse him about *Mademoiselle de Blois*, the Kings Natural Daughter, who appearing accomplished, at a very tender Age, promis'd to become, in time, one of the most charming Persons in the World.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, finding himself a little toucht, with what was told him every day, or perhaps spurr'd on with the curiosity of knowing, whe-

ther Reputation did not make any addition to the Beauty of this Young Princess; made known that she should not be sorry to see her Picture. But the thing having been told to those who were still faithful to him, and who were jealous of his Glory, they represented to him too strongly, the Gin that was laid for his Youth; that this Prince recollecting with himself, was ashamed, of what, perhaps, he had only done out of Curiosity.

Mean while there came from France several Pourtraicts of *Mademoiselle de Blois*; but the Ministers of that Crown, perceiving the Scandal of her Birth, destroy'd all the impressions which her Beauty might make, abandoned the Design of this Match, of which they had before conceived some hopes.

Upon this they proposed another Marriage to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and which was indeed more suitable, being of *Mademoiselle*, Sister of the Queen of *Spain*, and Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*. But those same Ministers of his, who had been able to make him disrelish the former, found the means to dis-

swade

swade him too from this ; representing to him, that all this was but a Snare to divert him from the Alliance of the Emperour ; whose Daughter he might be in hopes of Marrying ; which was not only a much more advantageous thing for him, but also necessary to his interest : Wherefore that it became him to open his Eyes once for all, upon the Designs of *France*, which only tended to the Ruine of the Emperour, and of all the Empire. That True it was, that it fed him from time time with fine imaginations ; as, the having him chosen King of the *Romans* ; but that at the bottom, his Design was only to disunite the Princes from one another, that when the Election came to be, she might take for her self what she then so willingly offered to others. That it was not for his interest to desire a Neighbourhood so fatal to all those who had the misfortune to be his Neighbours ; that this was no slander, and that there needed no more than to consider their condition, to make others dread falling into the like circumstances.

These Wise Councils produced all the impression that could be expected in the mind of a Prince, who loves Glory, and flies Oppression. But as this was in no wise palatable to the Ministers of France, they were so outrag'd at the refusal, which the Duke made of a Match with *Mademoiselle*, that they had the insolence to say, *That tho' the Elector had married Mademoiselle de Blois, he would not have been dishonoured. That there were as great Princes as He, who would, perhaps, demand her in Marriage, and yet not obtain her. And that the King was sufficiently puissant to revenge himself one day for the Contempt that was made of his Alliance.* These heights gave the Duke of Bavaria to understand, how at first that Crown introduced it self by gentleness, and would afterwards establish it self by force.

But this Procedure serving only to divert him the more from this Alliance, he treated immediately with the Emperor; with whom one might say, he would find both more safety and more Glory.

Nor

Nor has the Duke of *Saxony* had more reason to commend the Conduct of *France*, who seeing that he stood wedded, as well as the Duke of *Bohemia*, to his true interest, without suffering himself to be cajoled with all their Promises, has rais'd him Enemies, both at Home and among his Neighbours; it being well known how many Tricks and Artifices it has us'd to set him at Variance with the Princes of his own Family; and which not being able to bring about, it has had recourse to Neighbouring Princes, who have given it some jealousy, which the Emperor however, has very wisely dissipated.

As concerning the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* and the King of *Denmark*, I know nothing which can afford more aversion for that Crown, than its Conduct to those Princes. For if we consider after what manner, it introduced it self into their Confidence, we shall find it set all manner of Engines a going to bring it about; but after having attained to what it desired; there is no

manner of hardship but what it has made 'em suffer.

Every Man knows the Proposals the Count de *Rox* made at his arrival in the North. They know, I say, that he demanded of the King of *Denmark*, on the behalf of the King his Master, that he should share in the Disposal of the Subsidies, which he received from him; adding, they were unprofitably dissipated. The same thing almost, was said to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

But to hinder such like Compliments, from exciting the resentment of those Princes, who ought to be jealous of their Honour; they keep buzzing about them, either Pentioners, or *French* themselves, who mollifie things, inso-much, that those Princes being kept, as I may say, between fear and hope, know not what to determine. But let's here admire, the Policy of that Crown, which knows how to draw it's advantages from all things, even from those which would seem to be contrary to it.

The Persecution which it made Mr. *Brickman* suffer, is sufficiently blaz'd

in the World; for he after having been a long while in the *Bastile*, for having shewn his steddiness, was moreover obliged to leave his Country; saying, there was nothing more to hope for him in the Service of *France*, where he had, nevertheless, consumed his *Youth*. But as soon as *France* knew he was gone into *Brandenburgh*, and that he had been kindly received by the *Elektor*; on a sudden its Hatred was not only appeas'd, but it would needs too Recommend him to that *Prince*; not by it self indeed, because that would have been suspicious, but by its Generals; insomuch, that this Recommendation, joyned to the Merits of his Person, obtained him in a short time a Regiment of Horse, with the Government of *Wesel*. And he it is it now makes use of, but sily, to work out its Intentions: For though he does not seem trusted with its Secrets; and that on that on the contrary, he is always speaking some Resentments of what he has suffer'd from *France*, he knows how to give the Blow upon occasion; but a Blow too much the more

dangerous, in that it is not thought to depart from an affectionate hand.

Bois David, who was obliged to fly *France*, where he was a Brigadeer, and Collonel of Foot, for having fought a Duel with Mr. *d' Aubijoux*, has also regain'd its Favour by acting for its Interests at the Court of *Zell*, where he is settled to advantage; there occurring nothing there, but whereof Mr. *d' Lauvois* is informed; and what appears the more extraordinary, is that, though there be no more remission for those who are accused of the same Crime as his is; yet he goes sometimes to *Paris*, whether it be to settle his own Affairs, or as is more probable, to Confer with Mr. *d' St. Pouange*, upon what he would not dare to trust in Letters.

All the Courts of other Princes, are thus cramm'd with Banish'd, or Discontented *French-men*. But at the same time that these Princes receive them, if a Man may not say they receive *Serpents* into their *Bosom*, one may say, at least, they ought to be very careful, not so easily to confide in them their *Secrets*. For as the Genius of the *French Nation*.

Nation is, to slip lightly into all things ; a Man may also say, that the *French* very rarely forget the Fidelity they owe their Prince ; so as that it is great Imprudence to put too much confidence in them.

But after having spoke, as I have already done of the misfortune those Princes lye under, who are in the Neighbourhood of *France* ; or that have any Engagements with that Crown ;

Let's now behold to what those are reduced, that it has lately drawn in into its Rights of Dependency.

I will say nothing, either of the Prince of *Petite, Pierte*, or of that of *Weldans*, since I have already spoken of them sufficiently ; but I will say something of him of *Baden*, who was no sooner of the numbers of its Subjects, than that he saw himself compell'd to give a great Pension to his Wife ; who has left him long ago without ever any persuasions being prevalent enough to get her to return to him.

To no purpose, was it for him to remonstrate that he was ready to take her again ; no regard was had to his Reasons : And the first thing they began with,

with, was to make sure of a Fund, which he was barr'd all meddling with.

I pass over, in silence, the Tyranny that is exercis'd towards other Princes of less consideration: For since the Princes of Sovereign Houses are no longer spared, as I have made out already, there is little likelihood that others should meet with more favour. It is not to be said what they daily suffer from these petty Tyrants, who of *Ministers Lacqueys*, being become *Commissaries*, and of *Commissaries, Intendants*, attribute to themselves a Sovereign Authority.

But the *French* are not contented with stripping them of their Honour; they likewise fleece them of their Estates: How many Processes do they exhibit against them; either upon the Account of the *Militia*, or the Dues of *Vassalage*? And how many Princes, who had a while ago a power of Life and Death over their Subjects, are now compell'd to go plead against them; nay, and often lose their Processes too? For this is a nother piece of the *French* Policy, to uphold the *Vassals* against their *Lords*; as knowing, that as long as it has the People

pleon its side, it has nothing to fear either from the *Princes*, or the *Gentlemen*, who can effect nothing without the People.

Thus its Interest sways over all manner of *Justice*; but it little cares, tho' it seems unjust, provided it establishes its Dominion every where, or to say rather its Tyranny.

If we proceed to the Usage the Gentry have met with from *France*; how many do we see ruined by Garrisons, and others still worse Treated? For let it not be thought, that it sticks at the common Forms to establish its new Power, though it the Law was, to seize the Lands of those who would not pay Fealty and Homage. How many has it Imprison'd, that by detaining at the same time, both their Estates and their Persons, Necessity should oblige them to comply with all its desires?

But the Treatment the Baron d' *Eve-nop* had met with, speaks the top of its Tyranny, and Injustice.

This Baron, is a Gentleman of Quality; and whose Family has heretofore afforded a Queen of *Sweden*. For after having received his Fealty and Homage

mage it dispossess'd him, without ever any Bodies being able to give any reason for it, or that *France* it self can give any, unless, that which is well-known, that it is very willing to put it self into possession of others Estates.

There is hardly any Prince in *Europe*, but knows its Violences; and has more-over a notable Interest to repress them. But their Blindness is so terrible, that instead of uniting all together to put a stop to those unjust Courses, they seem to have conspir'd, by their Disunion, to give it the Empire of all the World. They all know it has united it self with the *Turk*, to over-run and lay *Germany* waste; the One on the one side; the Other on the other : and yet they will not unite to destroy an Enemy which endeavours to plunge them into *Slavery*.

But since I have mention'd, that it was as it were through Inadvertency that Alliance with the *Turk*; It is convenient, that I convince those who have hitherto doubted of the reality of it, by a Circumstance which has lately happened; and to which there is no reply,

Every

Every man knows the vigorous resistance made by the *Count d' Starenberg*, Governor of *Vienna*; insomuch, that the *Grand Vizier*, often having lost an infinite number of Men before that Place, was resolved to raise the Seige if he could have retreated with Honour. For that purpose he sent back *Count Albert Caprara*, who was the Emperor's Ambassador at the Port, whom till then he would not suffer to return home to make him some Propositions for a Peace; and which were much more reasonable than those he before had offer'd. But the *Marquess d' Lepeville*, who was with the Emperor, on the behalf the *French King*, having notice of it, dispatch'd away at the same time a *Courier* to his Master, to give him notice thereof; and upon this News, *France* sent back another immediately to the *Gaand Vizier*, to remonstrate him the injury he would do his Reputation, after having lost so many Men before *Vienna*, to raise the Seige so shamefully; that besides he was going to enter *Flanders*, to oblige the Princes of the *Rhine* to recall the Succors they lent the Emperor;

peror ; and that this Diversion would quickly procure him a happy success of his Enterprize.

The *Courier* of Mr. d' Lepeville, Arrived on Sunday, August 22, at Fontaine-Bleau, that which was dispatch'd to the *Grand Vizier*, or to Mr. d' Lepeville, which was the same thing, departed the same day at one a Clock in the Afternoon ; and that very Afternoon, they not only proclaim'd that they were going to enter *Flanders*, but also the Orders were issued forth for that purpose ; insomuch, that the *Grand Vizier* not doubting, but that this once, at least, they would keep tack with him, and make good their Word, more than they had done before ; he since continued on the Seige, and according to all appearance, would never have quitted it, had he not been compell'd by Arms. But since I let fall, that *France* had failed in its Word to the *Grand Vizier*, it is not improper to say what was the occasion of it. Certain it is, that by a secret Treaty made between it and the Port ; whereof Count *Teckly* was the *Guardian* or *Feoffee*, and one called

called *Bohan* the Instrument: *France* was bound to attack the Empire on the side of the *Rhine*, at the same time that the *Port* attack'd it on the side of *Hungary*.

For this purpose the *French* King was already on his Way to his Army, which was upon the Frontiers; but having learnt, that the *Turks*, whose Beginnings, had been so advantageous, that it was not to be doubted but that they would take *Vienna*, whereunto they had laid Seige; had given such a terror unto all *Germany*, that all the Princes thought themselves already lost; he would not march on, not out of any effect of Moderation, nor much less out of an effect of Christianity, but that he might not lose himself in the Opinion of all the Princes of *Germany*; for he imagined, that lying under those woful Circumstances, they would suddenly be obliged to have recourse to him; and already reckoning upon the Empire, he would not pour upon it Desolation and Terror: and this was the Cause that he now rather attacks *Spain* than the Empire: for he still hopes,

hopes, that if the *Turks* once seize on *Vienna*, that none but he will be able to oppose such mighty forces; as if the Princes of the Empire would not rather chuse if it was a forc'd Putt, to render themselves Tributories of the *Turk* than to submit to his slavery. And indeed, without speaking further of his *Tyranny*, which is incomparably harder to support than that of the *Pagans*; is it not probable, to say, *Consciences* will not be always *Tyranniz'd* over; and that each Man will be allow'd to serve his *God*. There you will hear no talk of *Edicts*, which decree the Destruction of *Churches*; nor of *Troops* which serve for *Executioners* to those who assemble upon their *Ruins* to sing there the *Praises* of the *Almighty*. But if it is easie, at least, as I imagine, to Create an Abhorrent of the *French Government*; it is not so easie to teach the means to avoid it; seeing principally, as I have said, all Princes seem to Conspire with it to bring *Europe* into slavery. For in fine, is it not a thing worthy both of pity and anger, to see that in a time wherein there ought to be a general Union against so formidable a Power, they

still

still strive to give it new Forces? For
 what do those think of, who have lately
 Elected the *Electo*r of *Cologn*, or rather
 say Bishop of *Strasburgh* for the Bishop
 of *Munster*? Do they not know that both
 those Princes are entirely devoted to
France? and tho' the *Electo*r of *Cologn*
 should come to rub and open his Eyes,
 yet the Bishop of *Strasburgh* has so great
 an ascendant over him, as that he would
 still oblige him to continue in his error.
 Do they not know, that tho' the *Electo*r
 of *Cologn* only loves Peace, the Bishop of
Strasbourgh only loves War? Do they
 not know that it was only by the means
 of the late *Arch-Bishop* of *Cologn*, and by
 the persuasion of the Bishop of *Strasbourg*,
 that *France* carried its formidable Arms
 into the united *Provinces*; and who then
 now augment the power of their Heirs,
 who already shew but too much passion
 to shackle Europe. They have the same
Name, the same *Inclination*, the same *De-*
sign with the *Deceas'd*. It is their same
Blood, and their same *Spirit*. We have
 seen into what a hideous Precipice the
Deceas'd had thought to have tumbled
 all *Germany*; and yet as if People had
 quite

quite forgot what has but newly happened; they give the *Netherlands* the means to execute the things which the *Uncle* had only the will to do. The one has already deliver'd the Capital City of his *Bishoprick* into the hands of the *French*; and the other will have them still deliver the rest of *Germany*, which is already put into great Captivity by this Treason. They are willing, in a word, to find the Hands of *Holland* by the Neighborhood of a new Enemy; and so setter, by this means, the rest of *Europe*, which has no other hopes than in that State.

But let's put a period to a Discourse, which, besides, can operate no good effects; since all People do not love to be so plainly told their Truths. And indeed, as much as *France* may be vex'd that I have here discovered its *Maximes* and its *Policy*, so will the other bears me an illwill for having rebuk'd'em of blindness and weakness; mean while I still cannot forbear saying, to the venture of all, that these may think that it is rendering themselves the Accomplices of all the Enterprises, which *France* shall undertake, if they do not put an end to the

Dis-

Differences, which for this long while have so divided them. For what else can a body say; we see the one is preparing to invade *Lubeck*, another *Pomerania*; others are contriving how to oppose these Designs, when on another side a much more formidable Power, meditates the reducing them all under its Obedience. They will not suffer that one Neighbour should become more powerful than the other, but make no reflection that an Enemy approaches; who not contented with having enlarged his Dominions, with great Conquests, will not content himself with remaining their neighbour.

It is for all the world, in this, just as what is pleasantly said by the Author of a certain *Lampoon*, which stole abroad about five or six months ago, upon the state of *Europe* at this day: for when he comes to speak of the *United Provinces*, he makes them say, they will not suffer the Prince of *Orange* to Reign over them; and he answers them, that they are blind and fools, since they are afraid of being bitten by the Dog, and do not see the Wolf which is just ready to devour them. In effect, all those Princes of the North, perceive that the King of *Denmark*

mark would willingly joyn *Hamburg* and *Lubeck* to his Crown; but they do not perceive that *France* will quickly joyn to its Dominions, both those two Cities, and their Dominions too, unless they unite together to prevent it. They see that the Marquis of *Brandenburg* has a design of invading *Pomerania*, from which he thinks he was, without reason, excluded; but they do not see, that while they oppose his augmenting his Power, another augments his to that degree, that they all run a risque of being suddenly oppress'd. Wherefore, what remedy is there to all these Mischiefs, unless that of forgetting the old Quarrels, to entertain a new one? But first, those fordid Spirits ought to be banished from Councils: who after having insinuated themselves into the favour of Princes, in reward, play 'em daily a thousand and a thousand Treasons. None but the Ancient Servants ought to be heard; I mean those, whose fidelity have been so often tryed, we should be blame-worthy to suspect them; for in the Age we live all People ought to be distrusted; principally, since we daily see but too much Corruption. For in fine, Would not

Strasburg

Strasbourg still subsist, if it had had only in its bosom, Persons stock'd with Fidelity. But let's admire, I beseech you, the difference there is between the Service which *France* reaps from its Subjects, which are in the Service of other States and the Service which other States reap from their Subjects, which are in the Service of *France*. I have already shew'd, how one *Bois David*, and one *Brugmaie*, both banish'd, and both proscrib'd, as they are, yet serve for Spies to their Country, in the Courts of the Marquiss of *Brandenburg*, and the Duke of *Zell*. I have shew'd, I say, what reason these Princes have to suspect their Fidelity. But let us now see, how much on the contrary, the Fidelity of *Hasfield*, who is born the Subject of the King of *Sweden*, ought to be suspected to the King his Master.

His Birth is so wellknown in the World, that it would be superfluous to speak of it here, unless that I had a mind to say, that being born of a *French* Father and Mother, it is not to be wonder'd that he inherits and fosters their inclinations. Yet this may be objected to him, that after his Family has been rais'd from

from nothing, if I may say so, by the benefits of the Crown of *Sweden*; and that he was born in that Kingdom; all the other Obligations ought to be effaced, insomuch, that what was a Virtue in his Father, is a Crime in him. And indeed who can think without having a contempt of his Person; that while *France* carries, it so sparkishly towards the King his Master, he still conspires, with it, to bring all *Germany* into *Slavery*. Was it not him who took so many Voyages to *Strasburgh*, when it was more easie for him than others to negotiate, by reason of the Language of the Country, which is familiar to him; as also, for that he was there the less suspected? Is it not he who is daily hatching *Cabals* in *Sweden*, where he knows the Great Men are discontented, by reason of the vast Estates which the King has taken from them, because they were rather Profusions than Liberalities made by the Kings Predecessors? I only take to Witness the great Men of that Kingdom: and whether it be not true, that in a Debauch where seven or eight were present, one of the Company told the other, that if *Hatfields* Counsel was followed they should set up a *Teckely* among them, that is to say, a Head of the *Male-Contents*. But

I pass many other things o're in silence;
 be it as it will, there's no saying but that
France does well reward the services that
 one does it. Besides his receiving good
 Pensions from thence, and great Presents,
 it advances all his Family, while it ne're
 thinks of the best Families of the Kingdom
 which ne'retheless do not a little want it.
 He has two Brothers, one of whom is
 suddenly to be a Bishop, the other an Ab-
 bot, the King having promised it him,
 and never failing in his word, unless we
 except what he and his Ministers call
 Word of State. There are still two o-
 thers, one of whom is at *Hambourg* upon
 the account of the *French* King, a wor-
 thy Brother of Mr. *Hasfield*, that is to say,
 just as ready as he, to sell *Germany*, if
 the thing was in his power, and the o-
 ther remains in *Sueden*, and he it is that
 gives notice of all occurrences in that
 Kingdom. Now all these noble Blades,
 Sons of Mr. *Bidal*, that famous Bankrupt,
 of whom *Boileau* has not fail'd to glance
 upon in his satyrs, but now he is obliged
 by an express order from Court to taze
 out, when he puts his Works again to
 the Press. For Mr. *Hasfield* doing such
 F mighty

mighty feasts to render his name worthy of immortality, it is but justice there should not remain so many Monuments of his Infamy.

Wherefore the means to prevent all these abuses, is to follow the Example which *France* does now it self set the world. For it not only Confiscates all the Estates of its Subjects who go into the Service of other States, but it also forbids 'em to serve under pain of Corporal punishment. Meanwhile if we see it has indulgence for some we can only infer from thence, what I have noted, namely that those Persons serve for its Spyes about the Princes, by whom they are employ'd, which is but too true.

Let us hence Conclude that so long as there is no Care taken to remedy these abuses, it is impossible we should be successful in our measures, and but that on the contrary *France* will have all the advantages it can desire. For can it be expected, we should happily accomplish an Enterprize, whereof *France* had long had notice before we went about to put it in execution. Moreover let's add to this, that it is not yet sufficient that a Prince should

should distrust his Ministers or change them, he must be his own Minister, and know that tho' there be one person in his Council proof again Temptation, there will be a thousand that will stoop to the lure. In effect, let him but make reflection, that hiring out himself very commonly, as at this day, is but too frequently practised, to him that gives most, his Ministers may well do the same thing, and the rather, for that they want more than he does the money which is offered them.

There remains something to be said touching the remedy that ought to be applied to so many mischiefs, wherewith we find our selves overwhelmed at this day. But as I can only offer what several persons have said before me, I rather choose to be silent, than to repeat so many useless matters, and besides for the most part more speculative than real. For when I make reflection upon what I have read in so many passages, and heard spoken in so many places, that all Protestants ought to unite together in Default of *Catholicks*, to oppose their Common enemy, ought not we to Conclude that it is much

much more easie to reason after this manner, than to see the effect of that Argumentation. For how can they expect that the Protestants all alone should undertake a war against France, while the Catholics are daily upon the Card of surprize 'em. We see at this day a fair Example of their Intention, which it is for Us to judge of the Confidence we may put therein. I mean that usage the Protestants meet with in Silesia and the other Neighbouring Provinces at a time when they themselves are under Desolation, and stand in full need of our Assistance. But they had rather abet the Empire should Perish, than slacken their Cruelties in the least. The House of Austria, which above all others, is animated to our Ruine, does not see that the hand of God lies heavy upon it for so many Cruelties, for which it is accountable to his justice upon our accounts. It continues still to irritate him by new forfeitures, that it may meet with no more mercy from him. It does not see that the Authors of all these Councils, I mean the Jesuits, only give it them out of Interest. It is still willing to Sacrifice to them the

part of the Empire, whereof it has already
 regularly Sacrificed to them a good part. Mean-
 while let it not be imagined; that all I
 here say proceeds from any natural
 aversion against them upon the account
 of my Religion, I protest before God that
 I hate no body, and that I would not
 impute to them any of our mischiefs, if I
 did not see that all Worthy People, even
 of their own Religion love 'em no more
 less than I do. The World is sufficiently ac-
 quainted with their strange avidity to
 have the Estates of those four *Hungarian*
 Lords, whom the Emperor caused to be
 beheaded, to Comply rather with their
 pressing Instances, than for any Crime
 which was in them, at least, unless you
 will say, it is a Crime to be zealous for
 ones Religion. But as all I can here say
 would be to as little purpose, as what so
 many other Persons have said before me,
 the best I can do is to make an end, and
 own that our mischiefs are at such a peri-
 od as well as those of all *Germany*, that
 none but God can save us.

T H E E N D.